5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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439 communities. When these do occur they are usually between neighbouring
437 communities, as Waddell and Krinks have clearly demonstrated.[9] Intertribal
438 trade, though small in volume, was politically important in that it provided a motive for terminating, or at least interrupting, warlike disputes. Intertribal trade
[628] was mainly in animal products, betelnut ingredients, feathers, *hambo*, and certain artifacts which were known to be of high quality in particular districts, e.g. Binandere pots were exchanged for Yega loincloths; only mountain people could supply cassowary feathers, and so on. Such exchanges may, under modern conditions, take the form of gift exchange, barter or sale but it may be doubted whether barter was ever as clearly institutionalised and differentiated from gift exchange among the Orokaiva as is the case in many other parts of Melanesia.

433 *Money.* With a few reservations, one could describe the role of money in
436 the modern Orokaiva economy in much the same terms as Salisbury used for the Siane (1962). Salisbury distinguishes between three nexuses of activity. One is concerned with the production, distribution and consumption of subsistence goods, another with luxury goods and a third with ceremonial goods. The three nexuses involve not only categories of goods but also different types of social
436 groups. Among the Orokaiva as among the Siane, money mainly enters the
454 luxury and ceremonial nexuses. As with the Siane, the Orokaiva tend to store pound notes in treasure boxes, with *di* and *hambo*, and to keep them for special purposes which are often ceremonial (payment of brideprice, giving of feasts and
436 church donations), but sometimes utilitarian (payment of taxes). Purchases in trade stores are mostly for luxury items, i.e. objects which the Orokaiva use only
439 when there are guests to be entertained (tinned meat and fish, sugar, tea,
[262] batteries, cartridges, kerosene and tobacco, for example). Foods like rice, bread and flour are classifiable as luxuries among the hill people, as here they are used exclusively as guest foods. It is clear, however, from Waddell and Krinks' statistics that on the alluvial plains near Popondetta, rice and flour is bought in far greater quantity in months when taro is in short supply. These products are thus taking the place of subsidiary crops. People in this area prefer to make money from cash crops and services and to spend some of their cash on supplementary staples. The Siane, at the time of Salisbury's research, did not depend on cash as a source of staple food.

191 The use of money for capital goods merits some attention. Salisbury defines
436 capital as a stock of goods, present before a productive act is performed, used in production and 'immobilised' from direct consumption while the act is in
439 progress. Tools and implements are classed as 'durable instruments of production.' Houses and clothing, etc., are called consumer's capital because they
511 'produce' services for their owners while they exist. It is interesting to compare, in respect of monetary input, everyday consumer goods and the types of capital just mentioned. While the former have generally remained outside the cash economy, it is precisely in the sphere of capital goods that the traditional industries have been largely or wholly replaced by cash-purchased innovations such as trade, store clothing, agricultural, hunting and cooking implements. Totally new items – radios, flashlights, wrist watches, pressure lamps, sewing machines and guitars have been added. Locked suitcases, for the storage of valuables, are very popular, indicating that safe storage used to be a vexing problem.

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431 phase would last about two days. Villages where I made very brief visits never
123 passed beyond that stage, thus remaining in my memory as exceptionally endearing in their generosity. Before I understood the system, I harboured romantic notions of going to live in these villages. In the second phase there would be frantic *hoija*. Everyone brought gifts, asked for tobacco, salt, kerosene, and rides in the car. People appeared to be most hurt when I would not drive into Popondetta every day, and take the whole village with me. Whenever I was offered any gifts or service during this period there would be an immediate demand for some desired benefit.

436 After some weeks, this rather aggressive barrage diminished. I found myself
123 with a number of regular exchange partners who brought me what it was presumed I needed and who asked me for more or less standard return benefits.
431 Two sorts of partnership developed: one type of partner expected a return gift immediately upon bringing me his own; the second type made gifts for which he asked nothing – they were represented as gestures of pure affection. Yet in the future an occasion would arise when I would be asked for, or would spontaneously offer, something in return. But this second type of partnership was far more similar to the kind of gift exchange the village people had among their fellow villagers or close associates. As more and more people shifted from the first to the second type of partnership, I could see something like a genuine exchange network building up. People trusted me enough to allow me to be in their debt for a while. I was thus approaching the stage when I would be regarded as a desirable exhange partner, or, to put it in Orokaiva terms, as a man of some moral virtue. It seemed to me that it was on my behaviour as an exchange partner that my status would ultimately depend.

431 Most of the significant events in which the village was involved were also concerned with exchange. While marriages, deaths, feasts and initiations were all occasions for ritual and magic, the gifts always loomed largest in everyone's interests. It would usually take at least a year, but often far longer, to accumulate the gifts needed for such occasions. During this period members of the family, local clan branch or village (whichever was the donating group) would be constantly on the lookout for money or gift objects that could be stored up. People would go looking for jobs. They would keep unused some
[628] clothing they had been given by a relative. Whenever a visit outside the village
[574] was contemplated, an essential part of the preparations was the getting together of the gifts that would have to be taken. Or when a visitor arrived, there was stealthy activity in the background to prepare the gifts without which he would not be allowed to leave. The size of the gifts would always be carefully planned, in accordance with the importance of the visit, the extent to which it was thought politic to do homage, and the availability of supplies. But the making of the gift would always be done in so casual a manner that one might easily believe it was totally spontaneous.

This manner must be affectionate and humble. But the wise man, in making a gift, puts his partner in his debt as much as possible without suffering undue expense, while at the same time enhancing his own status. At a later time, he will use his status as creditor to the best advantage. His concern is to foster a social relationship while at the same time seeking the acquisition of some scarce resource. Social and economic ends are pursued simultaneously. Thus Melanesian

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gift exchange differs to some extent from the Western exchange of Christmas presents with which it is sometimes compared. In the former, as opposed to the latter system, the acquisition of desired scarce resources is a most important consideration; the fostering of social relationships is equally important in both systems. 431

Westerners often criticise Melanesians for being too grasping and mean in gift exchange. Absurd though this criticism may seem, it arises from a real cultural difference: Westerners depend on institutions other than gift exchange for the acquisition of desired scarce resources. Hence the institution of exchanging Christmas presents need serve no other end but the fostering of social relations. For the Melanesians, with a rudimentary market system, gift exchange must serve economic as well as social ends. This lack of differentiation leads to the necessary consequence that social exchange is rarely effective unless prestations of economic value are exchanged between the partners and both sides are satisfied with what they receive. 431 436

Orokaiva regard exchange relations as the *causa efficiens* of social relations; they cannot envisage any significant social relations in the absence of exchange relations and they ascribe all breakdowns in social relations to an antecedent breakdown in exchange relations. They support this view with cogent and sophisticated arguments, which will be presented throughout this work. Here, I shall quote only a few examples of their reasoning so as to give it some *a priori* plausibility. 431 436 829

One evening a women's dance practice was interrupted by an angry man calling his wife to come home. It turned out that his son's wife, who lived with the couple, had run off and returned to her village. The immediate cause of this escape was clear: he had tried to seduce her. He considered himself entirely justified in doing so as the young woman belonged to his son. To which his wife retorted that the son was hers also. The loss of the young woman, for whom bride price had been paid and whom the son would certainly expect to be reserved for him, was very serious and led to a meeting involving his clan, his wife's clan and the son's wife's clan. This meant that all of Sivepe was there, as well as a number of people from neighbouring Sasembata, the son's wife's village. A councillor was invited to adjudicate. The Sasembata people's arguments were interesting but not relevant here. The meeting was mainly concerned with what was regarded as the key problem: the conflict between the older couple. Their marriage had been unhappy for some years. The wife had been away to Port Moresby for a long time; when she returned the husband had gone away, also to Port Moresby. When he came back he found his wife was having an affair with another man. He himself was constantly chasing his three daughters-in-law. 581 586 627

The meeting addressed itself to the question of what had caused this marriage breakdown. The husband had been wrong to pursue his daughters-in-law; the wife had been wrong in committing adultery, and so on. But how did it begin? Why had the wife gone to Port Moresby in the first place? So she told the tale. She had had diarrhoea; her husband had become angry. But she kept on going out of the house. She then took some of his betelnuts to chew, and he told her in a fury that he did not want her to go to his garden any longer. She did not get food for a day and a half and then left for Port Moresby.

No further questions were asked. Once the husband had confirmed this

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account, the meeting ruled that the cause of the marriage breakdown was the husband's refusal to allow her to enter his garden. The attempted seduction, the adultery, the escapades to Port Moresby, the violent words and acts that had characterised the marriage over the years were all declared to be blameworthy, but the most serious of the offences was the husband's act in denying his wife entry to the taro garden. This signified the breaking off of the basic exchange relation in a marriage whereby the man clears the garden, the wife harvests the taro, and cooks it, and the husband and wife both eat it. I was told that when this exchange relation is broken, the marriage itself breaks down.

Why it is the taro garden where exchange between husband and wife is so important will be discussed in Chapter VI. I am concerned here to show that in tracing the cause of a marriage breakdown, what the Orokaiva seem to be looking for is evidence of a breakdown in the area of gift exchange. As long as the husband still gives his wife taro, there may be considerable difficulties between them, but these are not *defined* as a breakdown in Orokaiva culture unless there is a breakdown in Obligatory exchange.

Another such case was that of a man who took sides in a quarrel between his brother and another man who had been trying to rape, i.e. seduce by force, that brother's wife. I thought that the village generally would be on the brother's side, as rape is disapproved of, but almost everyone took the side of the rapist and the man who took the side of his brother had to leave the village. The man who was expelled had a long history of trouble making. During my stay he had been involved in every fight except those between husbands and wives. He had also committed rape, his victim being a prohibited partner under the incest rules. His trouble was, so I was told, that no woman wanted him. I asked my informants why this was. The reason was that he had been married previously, he had maltreated his wife and she had run away. Now nobody would help him. And why would nobody help him? Well, brideprice had been paid for his first wife; it had been lost through his fault, and that was the 'real' reason why nobody supported him in the quarrel. Here again we notice that the cause of the trouble was the breakdown of an exchange cycle. When a man has been helped in paying brideprice he has an obligation towards his clansmen to hold his wife, raise a family and be a support for the others. He must manage the relationship with his own affines properly and make them into valuable exchange partners.

In both instances a basic exchange cycle had been broken and that was thought to constitute the essence of the relationship. In the first case this was the exchange between man and woman in making their own contributions and deriving their own benefits in the taro garden – a cycle of exchange which parallels the cultivation cycle of the taro itself. In the second case it was the exchange between clansmen which is complete only when the man who received the brideprice provides recruits for the clan, as well as a steady new affinal alliance. It does not concern me here whether psychologists would, in such cases, accept the exchange breakdown as the real cause of the social breakdown; I have illustrated that the Orokaiva view social breakdowns in this manner.

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CHAPTER IV

THE EXCHANGE SYSTEM AND THE NEW AGE

1. *Cultural Changes*

Many significant changes have occurred in Orokaiva society since European contact. The introduction of cash cropping has made the Orokaiva, to some extent, into a peasantry, depending to a limited degree on monetised marketing. Furthermore, there has been a large amount of labour migration, mostly by male workers whose families stay behind in villages. Even in the villages, technological innovations have been influential in raising productivity and improving standards of living, while sharply reducing the game population. People have become accustomed to the existence of a specialised political authority, wielded by Australians but supported and assisted by Papuan functionaries. Inter-village and inter-tribal warfare has been effectively suppressed. The Orokaiva give at least nominal allegiance to Christianity, and thus to the principle of obedience to an omnipotent god.

These changes have profound implications for Orokaiva political philosophy. As we have seen, the Orokaiva recognised the importance of Hobbes' question: how can a man avoid a perpetual war between all and all? The answer, briefly, was that social order can be created by a system of exchange partnerships. But this was not Hobbes' own answer nor that of the Australians who now rule New Guinea. If the changes pursued by the colonial government are wholly successful, it is clear that exchange partnerships, as the basic source of social order, must become subordinate to legitimate central political authority and the modern market economy. In other words, there is what Gluckman calls a 'contradiction' (1965: 109) between Australian policy and the exchange-oriented Orokaiva social philosophy. It is possible, but cannot be predicted, that this 'contradiction' will eventually lead the Orokaiva to abandon their traditional exchange ideology. In the meantime, however, it is already clear to the Orokaiva that their world view is being seriously challenged by white wealth and power.

The effect of pressure on the exchange system is evident in many spheres. In the economic sphere, the Orokaiva still carry on most of their non-monetary transactions by the traditional system, using gift exchange between consanguines, affines and bond friends. Furthermore, gifts of money are being made along traditional lines, money being used either as a substitute for *hambo* and other valuables, or as gifts from urban migrants to country kin. On the other hand, store-bought goods are, by a general convention, excluded from the full operation of the exchange system, only a minority being distributed as gifts. The

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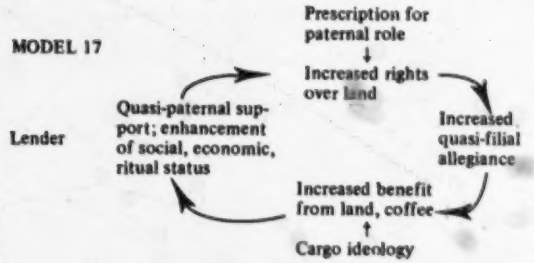
tendency is to use money income to purchase goods needed for daily life but obtainable in the subsistence sector of the economy (Waddell and Krinks 1968: 192). Only a small minority of the goods used by Orokaiva fall into this category, but if the tendency to exclude most store-bought goods from the gift exchange system continues, we may expect that system gradually to decline in importance as the monetary sector of the economy increases.

In the political sphere, the traditional system of control is still generally in operation at the village level. Under this system some men may exert great influence over a community, but they cannot enforce compliance by physical sanctions. While the Orokaiva generally maintain this system, an exception is made for councillors and committee men acting under delegated power from the government. These men may lay complaints with Australian authority and in practice do not always disdain to do so. Among the New Zealand Maori, any leader who so much as threatens to invoke European authority risks being nicknamed 'Mr. Government' and losing all influence. Not so among the Orokaiva; the argument is that it is better for such powers to be used by an Orokaiva official than by the government itself. Nonetheless, use of authority outside the extended family goes against the Orokaiva ethos and undermines the exchange system in a minor way, because an official, by invoking his *authority*, can obtain something from Alter without becoming indebted to Alter. A traditional leader, under the same circumstances, might have incurred a debt or drawn on a kind of credit balance. Here again, the departure from the traditional exchange system does not greatly intrude in everyday affairs, but is symptomatic of the type of changes social development would bring. There has thus been a growing inconsistency between the norms of the traditional exchange system and the facts of labour migration, cash cropping, adherence to the Christian Church, attendance at meetings called by councillors, school education, use of medical services, changes in house architecture, participation in women's clubs, savings and loan societies, rubber co-operatives and the like. How, if at all, did Orokaiva thought cope with these basic inconsistencies?

I have explained how traditional institutions are accounted for. When I inquired why it is that mankind wears clothing, makes fires, contracts marriages, I would be told myths about the *dema* responsible for these institutions. I would also be told that after the *dema* had shown men how to act in these matters there had never been any change. There was primordial time during which men lived, one might say, in the state of nature. In spite of the absence of strife and death that era was not invariably represented as a happy one. Women were desolate because they had no men to marry, no fire to cook with, no houses to live in. In spite of most obstinate and desperate efforts, graphically described in the myths, mankind failed to get the things it needed. The *dema* thus brought release from suffering when they introduced cultural goods, techniques and rules of behaviour. But after the *dema* died, nothing ever changed again.

While such beliefs belie any suggestions that the Orokaiva are without history,[1] it remains true that the Orokaiva repertoire of historical explanations is very small. The actions of the *dema*, the scission of lineages comparable to the branches of a tree, the settlement of villages by men sleeping under a *barevo* tree – this completes the set of traditional historical explanations of which I have knowledge. How could the Orokaiva, confined to this set of concepts, find

MODEL 17



The argument of the Tandai'undi and other owners of coffee-producing land is that the production of coffee gives the occupiers increased rights over land so that they owe an increased quasi-filial allegiance which must be expressed in increased prestations. These may take the form of substantial gifts, a share of the crop, etc. The benefit the owners seek to obtain from the land is nearly always money.

It may seem far-fetched that my model shows 'cargo ideology' as the 'mythological charter' for this desire for money. It may even be argued that the desire for money requires no ideological explanation. Without entering upon this larger question, I would directly relate the significance given to money in Orokaiva ideology to what has been said in the previous chapter about Jesus Christ as a *dema* figure. It is He who is credited with the introduction of money into the world and this is regarded as perhaps His greatest blessing. Hence the pursuit of money is not despised by Orokaiva nor even viewed as morally neutral: to acquire money is to give evidence of having followed the precepts of the *dema*. If the mysteries of the *dema* were more fully revealed to the Orokaiva, they believe they would acquire a great deal more money.[4]

I would argue that the Orokaiva regard the coffee industry as a premonition of greater wealth and power that may later come as the result of the return of the ancestors. Until the coffee industry started, Orokaiva could earn money only by leaving their villages to work for white men. Suddenly it became possible to obtain equivalent amounts from the products of village soil. What stirred the imagination was that a man could go to his garden, pick the coffee and then, after a not too demanding ritual of processing, pour it into a bag and obtain money for it. This was not classified as work but as a kind of magic. *Work* (the Pidgin English word) referred exclusively to paid labour done for an employer. *Pure* referred more specifically to the traditional gardens. *Kapi* (coffee) was what one might compare to a 'money tree': it was the source of the benefits which enabled a village family to share in the 'new day'.

From the cases I observed at Mumuni and Sivepe I gathered that some modest proportion of the proceeds of the coffee garden (like a tithe) would not satisfy the owners of the land upon which coffee was grown by usholders. They seemed to want all, or nearly all, the cash that could be gathered from the bushes. It was because their claims were immoderate that I began to think of the influence of cargo ideology.

434 [583] [431] [525] was in recognition of kinship obligations including bride price and gifts while 49 per cent of income was derived from these sources.

Gambling does not appear to be common within the village but intervillage visits are not infrequently arranged for this purpose. Few men in the sample claimed any significant winnings or losses for the year but during our stay some men, in one evening's gambling, lost $22 to members of another village who had already won $10 from them in 1962.

454 Nine of the 12 householders were holding personal savings at the time of our survey; in 3 instances where men had formerly been wage-earners for some time they had opened Savings Bank accounts which they retained.

A son's wife living with 1 householder had received some money from her kinsmen and some from her husband who was absent in employment. The money had been banked but was not recorded in our survey.

Apart from $60 in savings certificates maturing in 1966 which are contributions to joint accounts (see Appendix B), the ratio of current savings ($10 per household) to annual income is 1:2.7. Savings had decreased by 40 per cent during 1962 but income also seems to have been considerably higher in the previous year.

In a sample of 13 men from a nearby area in 1951 Belshaw (1951:12) found that only slight withdrawals had been made from pass books issued about 2 years earlier under the War Damage Compensation scheme; almost no deposits had been made. The average account had a balance of £4 with a range from £1.17s. to £8.1s. The same people claimed to hold other cash in hand ranging from nil to £39 with an average of just under £10. A small part [13] of this may have been cash payments made under the scheme. Refugees from the Mt Lamington eruption received other payments later from a relief fund. We could obtain no reliable information to account for any money received by members of our sample on either occasion.

436 The evidence is slight but a comparison of the 2 small samples suggests the possibility that with an increase over 10 years in the range of sources of income and in consumer demand, money is now circulating more freely in the area.

[301] [23] [321] [555] Shell and bone ornaments (hambo) and head-dresses (di) - made from feathers of the bird-of-paradise, mountain parrots, hornbills and cassowaries - known collectively as di hambo, are held by the people of Sivepe as a category of wealth, items in ceremonial presentations and as objects of display. In traditional Orokaiva society these are prestige tokens but seem never to have served as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 80]

A. [See Category 484, pp. 107-108--Analyst]

436 a standard of value. However, to some extent money seems to have
[555] taken over some of the functions of traditional valuables and in
some situations one is exchanged for the other. In the past it
[301] was recognized that skill and initiative in hunting and trading
[237] were necessary to acquire di hambo but today, with safer communi-
[321] cations and better hunting equipment, they are more easily obtained.
[439] People are willing to buy some of the more valuable items or some
cheaper items of European manufacture which can be adapted to
serve as a novel decoration.

Although they constituted the greater part of the goods changing
[428] hands on traditional ceremonial occasions, di hambo are evidently
not now circulating rapidly. A little less than half of these
valuables held by members of the sample had been inherited and
nearly a quarter had been acquired by the owner by hunting or
collecting.

A complete adjustment between the roles of money and of non-
monetary valuables has not yet been made. They circulate in the
same exchanges and both are considered essential; it may now be
[583] accepted practice that each should be contributed by or distributed
amongst different categories of kin on these occasions.[1] But the
opinion was widely expressed that as people are increasingly
demanding cash as a large part of bride price payments, the
intrinsic value of these exchanges was correspondingly less.

435 Although money and traditional valuables are not freely inter-
changeable, we collected details of the prices paid for any items
of di hambo which had been purchased by the sample.[2] We used by using
these in conjunction with the unitary scale of value on which
informants could readily place all items, we assessed the possible
cash equivalent of non-monetary valuables acquired by the 12 house-
holds from various sources. This is set out in Table 8.

Table 8

Cash value and acquisition of hambo and di
($)

	Inherited	Purchased	Bride price or other exchange	Made or bought	Total
Hambo	48.40	9.30	17.70	16.60	92.00
Di	17.60	4.50	6.50	15.40	44.00
Total	66.00	13.80	24.20	32.00	136.00

[1] See Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:52.

[2] These prices were very nearly the same as those recorded at Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963: Appendix B).

Chapter 3

The village economy

433 [128] This chapter describes briefly the Orokaiva pattern of production and distribution, with particular reference to Sivepe and Inonda.[1] Traditionally the villager operated within quite narrowly circumscribed physical limits. Each community functioned largely as an independent subsistence unit, almost all the requirements of [251] life being produced through shifting agriculture and the subsidiary pursuits of fishing, hunting and foraging on its own land. Production [438] was directed almost entirely to immediate and direct consumption, none of the staple foodstuffs except yams lending themselves to storage; exchange was confined largely to kindred within the community or in closely neighbouring communities. Beyond this, minor and informal trade links had developed between some of the inland and coastal peoples, but the degree of inter-dependence established can be considered insignificant.

[436] The contemporary economy comprises both subsistence and monetary sectors, with the former dominating. Most money traffic is with the non-agricultural sector of the national economy and there is little movement of money between subsistence units.

244 (a) The subsistence sector

(i) Production. The pattern of subsistence production is, as yet, little modified by cash cropping, in spite of the latter being based on permanent tree crops which involve substantially different agricultural practices.

Gardens are made in secondary growth where the forest has regenerated over a fallow period of about ten years. Little primary forest survives among the Mt Lamington Orokaiva and, even where it [361] does, secondary growth is preferred for gardening as it is easier to clear. In addition to the shifts in garden locations, many [184] settlements also change sites at frequent intervals, the cycle appearing to be a little longer than the cultivation cycle. All

[1] More detailed descriptions are given in Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:7-13, Dakeyne 1965:54-92 and Rimoldi 1966:13-28.

525 the losers. Villagers may also lose a fair proportion of their cash income through gambling.

461 (vi) The use of cash. Income is used for settling obligations, direct consumption and capital savings. The first includes taxes to the local government council, contributions to the mission and marriage payments. These occur only occasionally, but their size may require that an individual seek wage employment or harvest his cash crops with the specific purpose of meeting such requirements. The heaviest demands coincide with and immediately follow the period of most intensive cash crop production. Between about March and July the Higaturu Local Government Council collects its annual tax of $6 per adult male and $2 per female. During the latter half of the year, the Anglican mission seeks contributions to its Papuan Church Fund, in some areas recommending gifts of $4 by men and $2 by women. Cash also circulates among villagers in the form of small gifts as part of the 'normal' exchange pattern.

[651] [623] [797] [436]

366 Most villages are within half an hour's walk of trade stores and during the dry season in particular, distinct recourse is made to them for food. Only very small sums are paid out at markets or to hawkers.

454 Opportunities for investing savings occur with two local companies, Oro Ltd and the OCGS, and with the major savings banks through their agencies. In spite of a required minimum shareholding of $5 and $10 respectively, the first two have elicited considerable support and are preferred to savings accounts because interest on the latter is considered too small.[1] In addition to shares, a considerable amount of money is tied up in village or clan savings accounts but there are few instances of this money being used to benefit the group.

241 Apart from the few trade stores and coffee pulpers, little income is invested in large capital equipment. Herein, perhaps, lies the anomaly of commercial agriculture in the Northern District. In spite of the long record of experimentation with various forms of work organisation and tenure (admittedly, largely directed from outside), the degree of economic development remains low when compared with the Gazelle Peninsula or parts of the Eastern and Western Highlands Districts. The proportion of cash croppers among villagers is lower, as are the actual incomes derived from cash cropping and there are no locally-owned vehicles (except those of ex-servicemen settlers). Nevertheless, interest in commercial agriculture is

[771] [493]

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[1] One expatriate planter who operates a savings bank agency expressed concern that withdrawals had exceeded deposits for the twelve months preceding mid-1964. He believed that the money was being used principally to buy shares in Oro Ltd.

454 431 money received from them. As demonstrated in Table 10:15, such people serve as a major source of storebought goods, other than foodstuffs. The size of such gifts is demonstrated by the following two cases.

One: a householder visited his sister and sister's husband (also his wife's brother) working in Port Moresby. At the end of his visit he received $20 in cash, a dog and a suitcase containing the following items - 4 dresses, 2 pairs of underpants, 4 pairs of shorts, 5 shirts, 10 lengths of calico, 1 skirt, 2 pairs of child's shorts, 1 child's dress, 11 plates, 1 cauldron, 7 spoons, 1 blanket, 1 sleeping mat, 2 handkerchiefs and a child's shirt. From another of his wife's brother he received a wrist watch, while a third man paid his air fare back to Popondetta.

Two: a teenage girl spent about two months visiting and assisting her father's mother's brother's daughter and her husband on their holding at Sangara. During the course of her stay she received $1 in cash and at the end a further $2 together with the following items - flour (50c), margarine (30c), fish (20c), meat (80c), sugar (20c), rice (50c), tobacco (10c), matches (05c), and chewing gum (10c).

511 The expenditure patterns of cash are much the same for both cash and non-cash croppers; in both cases trade store purchases account for about half and payments to external agencies (licences, tax and mission offerings) account for a further one-fifth of the total. Non-cash croppers have less money available but utilise it in much the same manner - in effecting what are largely necessary exchanges [436] with the external sector. The small amount of money circulating as exchanges between villagers (12 per cent of income and 15 per cent of expenditure) reveals the non-cash croppers as realising a net credit of about $10, the cash croppers a debit of about $15. While little reliance can be placed on these figures they do seem to confirm the villagers' recognition of a distinct though restricted movement of money towards the former to supplement their limited cash resources and fulfil their requirements for it. In fact, the incomes of cash cropping households exceed those of all others, while, of the five households with the highest incomes, the heads [556] of four are the most respected within the sample. Thus, as with work, the intensity of exchange or activity in the monetary sector is apparently recognised as one criterion engendering respect among villagers. Alternatively, at the present level of commercialisation, it does not appear to conflict with customary considerations in the evaluation of status.

454 Even in the case of households with incomes of $2 per week there is little evidence of serious attempts at capital formation or investment. Any periodic excess of income over expenditure is normally kept as cash on hand in the house to be drawn on as required. Only four instances of monetary investments, involving two

A. [See Category 437, p. 214--Analyst]

437 employees. The need for these people to evolve some sort of exchange relationships with neighbouring villagers is explained by their low salaries and restricted subsistence resources. Their presence also facilitates long distance hawking, in that people from the coast will come to stay with relatives employed inland, bringing with them their fish and lime.

436 The main use of cash is as the medium of exchange with the external sector and most transactions are, therefore, with organisations, with 80 per cent of disposals to them. These cover not only purchases of goods but tax payments and mission contributions, which together account for 15 per cent of all disposals to organisations. Only a part of this expenditure is met by the sale of cash crops and subsistence produce and by village-based wage labour. If gifts from the researchers are disregarded, remittances from wage earners outside the District rank with earnings produced directly by the sample's endeavours (37 and 40 per cent respectively of total acquisitions), while a further 8 per cent of total income is derived from wage earners within the District. In effect the external sector of the village economy is dependent to a very substantial extent on the earnings of those kinsmen in wage labour.

[433]

The geographical dimensions of exchange

439 As revealed in the preceding section, the entry of a number of kinsmen into the external sector of the economy and their scattering over a wide area considerably complicate the spatial dimensions of exchange by introducing something of a random element based upon the distribution of expatriate settlements and institutions rather than of indigenous population. Thus, three-quarters of all clothing originates from Port Moresby since that is where the highest income earners (among kin) are employed; the 34 per cent of cash income obtained from wage earners outside the District came from three separate points in the Central, Gulf and Western Highlands Districts where relatives are stationed; while the bulk of foodstuffs are purchased in a store at Awala - one hour's walk from the village - rather than another at Kongehambo - only 20 minutes away - because the former is better stocked.

437 438 With novel means of communication available, particularly the postal service, the circulation of non-perishable goods which are not a product of the village economy is largely independent of factors of distance. Further, such circulation operates primarily outside the network of subsistence villagers, is restricted principally to the monetary system and is of a more strictly 'economic' nature. By contrast the exchange of subsistence produce and labour services takes place predominately at the village level, and here a more significant geographical (and sociological) dimension to exchanges can be identified.

438 [433] daily exchanges of products between villagers when they have a temporary surplus, rather than a continuing specialisation. Although some individuals do tend to concentrate more time than others on certain crops - as the widower in Inonda does with yams[1] - surpluses (and their counterpart, shortages) are frequently the result as much of chance as of policy. Thus, near the end of the dry season a settler held a feast at short notice to mark the end of a dispute with an Inonda man. The Inonda people decided not to make a return presentation at the same time since they had only sago available and would be humiliated if they offered this in return for the others' taro. In the event, contributions by people from the settlement blocks and other villages included more bananas and sweet potato than taro.

[574] [431]

The circulation operates at several different levels: the level of the village itself, that of a context which is more or less restricted to the occurrence of close kin and which, except perhaps for some affines, is only about three miles in radius, and finally the broader district level, which embraces greater environmental differences and is the sphere of operation of the comparatively long-distance hawkers from both the coastal and mountain areas. At this level, the volume of exchange is small; it is not necessarily based on kinship or even friendship ties and it is now almost entirely monetised.

[436] [178]

437 221 (ii) Labour services. Labour assistance in the subsistence sector shows a pronounced seasonality (see Table 11:6). This is largely due to the fact that 46 per cent of all the assistance received in the subsistence sector during the survey was in sago-making and all of this occurred during three weeks in the dry season.

Table 11:6

Inonda: mean weekly transactions of labour services during each recording period
(hours)

Labour services		Period I	Period II	Period III
Cash sector	Acquisition	1.9	4.0	1.3
	Disposal	2.5	1.6	2.6
Subsistence sector	A	8.3	67.6	10.5
	D	11.5	38.8	4.7
Total	A	10.2	71.6	12.0
	D	14.0	40.4	7.3

[1] Cf. pp.166-7. A
A,[See Category 512, pp. 166-167--Analyst]

mountain area while taking refuge there during the war. Two others have been allocated specific trees in their mothers' villages. One obtains supplies from his wife's village, but most Inonda people must obtain their betel nut by barter or purchase from villages further inland.

Only two households own hauga nut trees in Inonda (a total of 8 trees). One man has two trees on his lineage land in Hohota village, one has four trees in his mother's village and there are some hauga trees in Aramba which Inonda people harvest on visits there.

Breadfruit are relatively plentiful, 52 trees being noted, not including 2 at Ajoro which are owned by one Inonda man, and 2 at Hohota by another. Some 37 pandanus trees were recorded in addition to one each at Hohota and Aramba. We found no instances of pandanus trees being owned by non-residents other than men who were contingent members of the Inonda sub-clans. On the other hand several breadfruit were owned by the children of women who originated from Inonda but had married elsewhere.

Non-monetary valuables

The Inonda people recognize two categories of non-monetary valuables; firstly hambo which are ornaments made of sea shells, pigs' tusks, dogs' teeth etc., and secondly di which are ceremonial head-dresses made of feathers. Hambo and di are exchanged at certain ceremonies and sometimes given in recognition of a service rendered or as a token of apology. They can also be acquired by barter, and there is still some trade in shell ornaments from the coast and in feathers for head-dresses from the mountains. In recent years, however, valuables have frequently been acquired by cash purchase.

It is difficult to value hambo and di in terms of cash and whatever formula one adopts has its inadequacies. It is nevertheless important that some attempt be made to equate them, for valuables and cash are in some circumstances acceptable substitutes for one another (especially in meeting traditional social obligations) and the acquisition of the one is to some extent in competition with the acquisition of the other.

436 Several villagers were asked separately to rank each kind of hambo and di in descending order of value. There was agreement as to the ordinal value of most items and the few discrepancies were eliminated by discussion with the elders.

[125] We took a list of hambo and di from each household head and details of the person from whom he had acquired each item, his relationship to that person, and the reason for the acquisition (whether as bride-price or by barter, cash purchase [128] or otherwise). Cash values for each type of di and hambo were assessed on the basis of average prices realized in known sales and purchases. Where the people could not recall an instance of the sale or purchase of a particular item, its value was estimated from its position on the scale of relative values given to us by the local people. Hambo were valued from £3 for daremo (though occasionally extra large ones sell for up to £20) down to 2/- for the more common articles. Most feathers are now so abundant that they have no cash value, but bird of paradise, ungaijawo and cassawary plumes are still sold. Further details of assessed values of hambo and di are given in Appendix E[A].

435 436 The cash value of hambo and di held in the village at the time of our survey was as follows:

Table 5

Cash value of hambo and di

	Cash value	Household range	Household average
Hambo	£52.17. 0	0 - £15. 6. 0	£6.12. 2
Di	£17.17. 0	0 - £ 4. 6. 0	£2. 4. 8
Total	£70.14. 0	0 - £19.12. 0	£8.16.10

Few men looked after their own valuables. Two brothers (each the head of a separate household) who kept theirs jointly, left them in the care of their married sister in another village. Another two brothers and their father left their valuables, which they owned jointly, with the wife of the elder brother. Those of another household were held by the wife of the household head. In one instance the household valuables were left in another village in the care of the parents of the

A [See Category 436, pp. 97-99--Analyst]

household head. Only one man looked after his own hambo and di, and he was an elderly man who spent much of his time at home. The last household had no valuables. It consisted of a young couple and the man had given what few articles he possessed for his wife's bride-price. He has a job at present and is meeting his traditional commitments with cash.

The processes by which the valuables were acquired are shown in the following table (in equivalent cash values):

Table 6

Acquisition of hambo and di

	Inheritance	Cash purchase	Barter	Bride-price	Made or caught	Other exchanges	Total
Hambo	9. 6.0	18.1.0	10.16.0	6.10.0	2.19.0	6.17 0	54. 9.0
Di	2.17.0	1.0.0	3. 0.0	3.14.0	10.11.0	2. 5.0	23 7.0
Total	12. 3.0	19.1.0	13.16.0	10. 4.0	13.10.0	9. 2 0	77.16.0

(These figures are slightly different from those listed in Table 5 above as these exclude details for one household which was in mourning, and include details of articles previously held by another household but since stolen.)

In traditional Orokaiva society the possession of hambo and di demonstrated a man's prowess or that of his forebears. Wild pigs' tusks form the main components of most hambo and the spearing of wild pigs was a hazardous task requiring skill and courage. The next most important components were sea-shells, and they could only be obtained by contact with coastal folk (or from others who had contact with coastal folk). Such inter-tribal contacts appear to have been infrequent and risky. Feathers were obtained by snaring birds, a time-consuming process involving patient watching of intricately constructed traps and snares. The introduction of shotguns has facilitated the hunting of pigs and birds. There is now less skill and less time involved than previously. The trophies are consequently more abundant and of lower value. Likewise trading with the coastal people no longer requires courage or detailed

preliminary planning. One may walk to the coast at any time and obtain sea-shells by purchase or barter. Moreover, many people now place a higher value on imported objects, both ornamental and utilitarian.

Nevertheless, hambo and di still have a value. A man derives prestige from being "rich in hambo", a wedding is not complete without the exchange of valuables, and a man is not properly dressed for important festivals unless he is adorned with hambo and di. Moreover, one is sometimes forced to acquire hambo, as in the case of a relatively wealthy man in a neighbouring village who cannot decline the requests of relatives (in Inonda and elsewhere) to give them cash for hambo to enable them to pay their tax.

In a bride-price exchange which we observed a total of £41.0.0 was given in cash, plus £13.19.0 worth of hambo and di. It is significant to note that it was the closest relatives who gave cash (or cash and valuables) and generally the more distant ones (or close ones who had no access to cash) who gave traditional valuables. Likewise the most important of the recipients kept the cash, and the traditional valuables were distributed to the more distant kin.(1) At a birthday feast which we observed only cash was contributed.(2) It is apparent that money is now of greater importance than hambo and di even in local ceremonial activity.

The total value of traditional valuables held in the village is less than that of cash savings (see p. 54). Savings in cash amount to 24% of annual cash income in the village and the remainder of the income is used for current expenses. Cash circulates much more rapidly than valuables and is used for a greater variety of transactions. It is likely that the relative importance of cash will continue to increase.

Income and expenditure

Details of cash income and expenditure were collected in respect of the first eight months of the year and are

(1) For a fuller report on this wedding see Hogbin, 1963.

(2) See Crocombe, 1963.

APPENDIX B

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Non-monetary valuables

Ornaments (hambo)

in descending order of value(1)

Ornaments	Where worn	Description	Assessed cash value
Daremo	Forehead	Made of red sea-shell	£3 each
Dambariso	Forehead	As above but having different design	£2
Hoave	Single held in teeth, double hangs on chest	Made of large white seashells	£1
Bati	Neck	Made of dogs' teeth	10/-
Gajina	Arm	Made of trochus shell	10/-
Bagi (ajawa)	Neck and hangs on chest	Made of trochus shell	10/-
Ganda	Held in teeth	Made of several young pigs' tusks	5/-

(1) Several villages were asked separately to rank hambo and di in descending order of value. There was agreement on most items and minor discrepancies were eliminated by discussion with the elders.

Ornament	Where worn	Description	Assessed cash value
Parasi	Neck and hangs on chest	Made of brass from army dump or from tooth brush handle	5/-
Hono	Held in teeth and hangs on chest	Made of two large pigs' tusks	5/-
Poino (saima)	Head	Made of white sea-shells	5/-
Perere (keri)	Neck	White seashells	4/-
Hau (kuri)	Neck and hangs on chest	Large seashell beads	4/-
Sipe	Neck and sides	Made of silvery sea-shells	4/-
Simba	Head	Seashells	4/-
Ori	Neck	Seashells	4/-
Jaja	Head	Seashells	4/-
Matajo	Belt	Made of string and seashells	2/-
Sara	Head	Seashells	2/-
Erumo	Hangs from shoulder	Made of several sea-shells	2/-
Paho	Held in teeth	Large seashells	2/-
Hura	Forehead	Seashells	2/-
Sapi	Neck	Unknown	2/-
Sameme	Arm	Arm band made of trochus shell	2/-

Feather head-dresses (di)
in descending order of value

Samba (rokou)	Head	Bird of Paradise feathers	10/-

Head-dress	Where worn	Description	Assessed cash value
Ungaijawo	Head	Rare mountain parrot	5/-
Homboru	"	Cassowary feathers (dark)	2/-
Usege	"	Cassowary feathers (yellowish green)	2/-
Tuna	"	?	-
Suni	"	Red parrot	-
Waiwa	"	Small red parrot	-
Agena	"	White cockatoo	-
Pijama	"	White feathers from hornbills' tails	-
Koro (waja)	"	Black feathers from hornbills' wings	-
Peremo	"	Hornbills' beaks	-
Guvero	"	?	-
Pupu	"	?	-
Borongo	"	?	-
Kombu	"	?	-
Amone	"	?	-
Karenga	"	Large blue parrot	-
Kahu	"	?	-
Gere	"	?	-
Kaumba	"	?	-
Hoiroi	"	?	-
Sara	"	Mixture of various feathers	-
Asigi	"	?	-
Suni	"	?	-

Table 15

Replacement value of tools and equipment

A	$101.70	E	$138.05	I	$164.30
B	87.50	F	82.90	J	142.80
C	254.80	G	113.60	K	46.40
D	54.70	H	376.45	L	222.40
Average	$124.68		$177.75		$143.97

Traditional valuables. The possession of hambo (bone and shell ornaments) and di (feather headdress) may give some indication of a man's adherence to traditional values. In traditional Orokaiva society the possession of such valuables demonstrated wealth and prowess, but this function is now being taken over by money, as the relative importance of cash as the means of procuring desirable products increases, and money transactions become more frequent. Hambo and di are inherited through the father and sometimes other relatives, and they are usually distributed among the surviving sons. It is difficult to assess the traditional valuables owned by any one individual, as a man often looks after his younger brothers' shares and more than one person, both within and without the nuclear family, may have rights to the hambo and di kept in a particular household.

As shown in Table 16, subjects A to D possessed an average of $31.51 worth of traditional valuables, subjects E to H $46.16, and I to L (only one of whom has any such valuables) $7.50. H, the owner of the largest quantity of valuables, acquired them by inheritance and does few transactions with them today.

Table 16

Cash value of traditional valuables*

A	37.33	E	50.00	I	30.00
B	25.00 (assessed)	F	11.15	J	-
C	63.70	G	49.90	K	-
D	-	H	73.60	L	-
Average	31.51		46.16		7.50

* Values were calculated according to rates set out in Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:97-9. If a man held valuables jointly for himself and other kin, only his proportionate share is listed above.

19: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

from behaviour, because Orokaiva parents give their children, for instance, school lunches, just as parents will do anywhere. It is only when the anthropologist inquires how such behaviour is *classified* by actors, that we find differences, e.g. that an occidental mother will say she is doing her duty to her children when an Orokaiva mother will count the school lunches along with other lots of gift exchange taro she has distributed that day. If the anthropologist proceeds to ask whether the mother expects a counterprestation, a minimum of casuistic talent will suggest the answer to her that she will get it all back in her old age.

The hard fact is that some *tihanga* are collectable, others not. Naturally one collects what one can. A more apposite but difficult field of enquiry would be: when do people stop allowing others to accumulate uncollectable debts? The commonly given, almost standard answer to unwelcome requests for *hande* is: *irae* (it's all gone). This is by no means always true but, over a longer run, it would be hard indeed to stop giving until the supplies are gone. The only room for exercising free will is in deciding to whom one will share out what one has. Orokaiva do not accumulate debt to the same extent as many other more hierarchised New-Guinean groups,[5] because there is a rule against borrowing for ceremonial prestations. Big men may give on such occasions; they may not lend. Even so, a good part of any *hande* will go to sundry creditors, while the rest will go to set up debts among others. Here the social scientist cannot hope to write rules for what is essentially an art.

One may say that the highest social status is reserved to the skilled manipulator, the *hande embo*, who is also often called *otohu embo*, a term discussed in much detail elsewhere (Schwimmer 1973; ch. 9) which means not only a generous, honourable man, but even in a sense, 'a holy man'. My field data show that the persons in my village to whom this term may be most nearly applied, practised great care in balancing their accounts and minimising their debts within the village. It was those who lacked ambition for 'big man' status who allowed their debts to ride indefinitely. They did ask for help in feasting and other more or less public causes, but not often the kind that set up *tihanga* against them. It may also be relevant that the rules I have been setting out here do not apply so closely to European type resources such as money and objects bought with money and I never heard that it set up a *tihanga* if a friend pays your taxes. Money was, at the time of my research, little more than a toy, except if it became 'sacralised' by being included in a bridewealth or other ceremonial prestation. To be sure it then became an *integral* part of the Orokaiva exchange system, but even then I do not believe that money could become *tihanga* in the sense that its repayment was seriously demanded upon dissolution of a marriage. Perhaps the explanation of this paradox lies in Sahlins's theory of *hau*: the possession of valuables such as ornaments has a definite *yield*, in blessings gained by the donor, *hande mine* gained by the lender. On the other hand, money (except if kept for other ceremonial prestations) vanishes without a trace, without any noticeable yield, at least among Orokaiva. Presentation of money at a wedding or other ceremony, while highly honorific, is in fact a destruction of value, like coppers at a potlatch.

177 concepts drawn from the scene of world affairs. While among the
829 Orokaiva, I heard talk about Vietnam, Indonesia, Africa, India. The
political orientation displayed was a mild kind of nationalism, and
a sense of closeness to newly independent non-white states. But the
[263] information, derived from radio broadcasts and speeches by councillors,
introduced an acculturative kind of perspective. Its dissemination is
being actively encouraged by the Australian authorities.

465 Use of money: Before the eruption, money played a very minor role
in village life. It was earned by men who were away for limited
[464] periods working on plantations. Money wages on plantations were, and
are, extremely low; wages for agreement labour in 1962 were, for
instance, $39 per annum for the first year of which $12 is paid out
in monthly installments and the rest at the end of the year. In the
second year, the rate rose to $45.50 p.a. (Howlett, 1965) Urban wages
are a great deal higher than this; most Sivepe men who were absent
on employment worked on urban jobs. At the same time, a regular
income was derived from coffee.

464 Sivepe men were simply not interested in jobs at plantation
rates of pay, nor were they interested in "carrying" jobs for the
435 government even though wages in that case were higher. They were also
indifferent to selling their garden products on the Saiho and Popondetta
438 markets, as there were frequent gluts, prices were low and carrying
goods to market was an unduly arduous task.

436 Money was used largely to buy goods in the luxury rather than
the subsistence sphere. Money was essential for payment of taxes
511 and for a minimum of clothes, often acquired cheaply at jumble sales.
Otherwise, it was used to buy tobacco, food for feasts, kerosene
mainly used for feasting occasions, cartridges for hunting, again for
feasts. Among the larger purchases made were radios, pressure lamps,
bicycles, tools; all these, however, could never be paid for with
current income. One had to depend on special windfalls: a gift from
454 a relative in town, a bride price. Money was not only for spending,
556 however; it was also for saving. I shall refer to the organisation
of corporate saving later; in addition a number of Sivepe men had
savings, of the order of $10-$20, sometimes more, hidden away. This
money was kept for special occasions, but in addition, the very fact
of possessing it was regarded as important. I was once told that
Europeans were powerful because they had money; the Orokaiva could
get power only if they too possessed savings.

436 If money was definitely highly valued, it was only to a limited
437 extent regarded as a standard of value. If we accept some model such
as was suggested by Salisbury (1962), we may say that the Orokaiva
have three spheres of exchange: a subsistence, luxury and ritual
sphere, while bank notes are used for special, often ritual occasions.
[461] In the acquisition of luxury goods of any kind, including money, the
Orokaiva tend to weigh the benefits gained by them against their cost
in time and unpleasantness and against the benefits that can be gained
from other investments. Money is, in general, wanted only if it can

46 be acquired without too much hard labour or threat to status, and only
436 if its acquisition does not involve foregoing other more highly valued
437 benefits. Thus, the market has a great elasticity of supply: when
435 the price seems right to the Orokaiva, supply suddenly emerges from all directions; when the price is lowered, there is suddenly no supply at all. The investment of effort is at once directed into different avenues: subsistence gardening, house-building, a project for the mission, or a hall for the women's club, or a hunting expedition, or practises for a dance.

177 Comparison with Inonda: In this section I have discussed a small
184 number of acculturation variables as they apply to Sivepe. In general they apply to Inonda also, but there are a few minor differences to be mentioned. The most important of these is that whereas one can speak, in Sivepe, about a certain stage in acculturation reached by the community, it is less easy to do the same for Inonda where, at one end of the scale, we find fairly young men without cash-cropping skills, without school education, and almost entirely aloof from the money economy, while at the other end, one man has become a government driver and would need to be considered, in every respect, as more acculturated than any man of the same age group at Sivepe. It would be wrong to suggest, however, that acculturation in Sivepe was homogeneous; nor that the conservatism of part of Inonda is necessarily a long-term phenomenon.

There is no difference in food habits between the two villages, except that the government driver, having more money, eats better. In respect to clothing, it seemed that in Sivepe young women are a little more prone to cover their breasts than in Inonda; this is of course very much a matter of fashion and can change in months. With regard to housing, changes were actually occurring during the year I was in the field. Houses were being enlarged up to approximately the Sivepe size, and this programme was explained to me as due to the forthcoming feast at which the Seva people were invited and the new floor space was needed to accommodate them. The argument was thus not quite the same as at Sivepe, where the larger houses were thought of as a necessary part of "iji sha," the new age. "Timber" was not used in Inonda, all the walls being of sago. The "timber" fashion never travelled as far East as Inonda; I doubt whether Inonda had enough suitable trees and, furthermore, Inonda did not have the same shortage of sago. Though sago was rare on Inonda lands, the residents had a plentiful supply from other lands belonging to relatives. At Inonda, only some of the people used rubbish holes, whereas the others threw their refuse into the bush. On the other hand, the village was most plentifully and attractively laid out with shrubs and ornamental plants. Inonda, built a special feast house for their visitors from Seva, whereas Sivepe did not do so for their visitors from Togahou. This definitely reflected a non-traditional attitude in Sivepe.

177 In the attitude to money, and to education, Inonda was clearly
436 split between the traditionalist and the modern faction. The modern
583 faction was, in fact more money-oriented than were the Sivepe people.

177 The clearest example of this was in the computation of bride price.
436 As I mentioned, the Sivepa people, in calculating the value of bride
583 price, translated all gifts of trade goods (clothes, kitchen utensils, etc.) into money terms, speaking of a bride price of 72 pounds when the actual cash component was only $28. (The word "dollar" is well-known to Orokaiva but as yet imperfectly accepted in discourse as a unit of value.) Inonda, however, in calculating the value of bride price, went further and converted also the pigs, valuables and tapa cloths into money terms, as was described in Hogbin, 1966. Upon inquiring specifically whether the Inonda people calculated bride-wealth in this way, I found that Hogbin's presentation corresponded with the Inonda method of estimating. In other words, Inonda people spoke of a 100-pound brideprice, when the actual gifts were as follows:

Cash	$ 80.00
Household goods	13.00
Pig	60.00
Bark-cloth	9.75
Food	10.60
Traditional valuables	28.20
Total	$201.55

Sivepa people expressed some horror at the thought that this should be referred to as a $200 bride price; to them the gifts of pig, bark-cloth, food and traditional valuables were gifts of a special type that could not be equated with money. I asked one informant whether this was perhaps a modern trend; "not modern but silly," he replied.

177 This reply reminds us how hazardous it is to place a number of
184 phenomena, found in different villages, on a unilinear kind of acculturation continuum. Nonetheless, I believe that the facts show some tendency for Sivepa to be more "acculturated" than Inonda, even though the differences are slight, and apply only to part of the Inonda population.

Section 12: Impact of External Influences on Community Organisation

184 One of the difficulties of our research design is that Sivepa
621 and Inonda are of different population size, Sivepa having exactly three times the population of Inonda (135: 45). Hence, the community organisation of the two villages would naturally differ for that reason alone. A second difference lies in the clan composition of the [614] two villages and the changes in clan composition over the period under consideration. Pamba contained three clans: Seho, Jegase and Timumu and modern Sivepa still contains roughly the same family alignment except that the members of the Timumu clan are now calling themselves

CHAPTER IV: Acculturation at the Time of Resettlement

177 My concern in this chapter is not to discuss acculturation in general, which has been done already in earlier chapters, but to consider the variations in degree of acculturation that existed between individuals and groups in the sample villages. This is an issue of some importance as the main line of change has not been so much that wholly new culture elements were introduced between 1951 and the present (though there were some of these, too) but that culture elements accepted by an élite in 1951 have become generally accepted today, while other elements again are now in the stage of being accessible to an élite of the younger generation.

There are many innovations which can be adopted by Orokaiva only on a village basis. I have already referred to the changes in house design; such changes were never made individually, though less conspicuous changes (the use of nails rather than bark twine) may be [881] made by an individual. The abandonment of initiation ceremonies can likewise occur only on the basis of a corporate decision. At Sivepe they were abandoned after the war; on the other hand, girls' puberty seclusion and the subsequent ostentatious "coming out party" continued. Also, male initiation was widely replaced by a custom called a "birthday party" which was given to every boy of the age of nine or ten. [583] Similarly, the inclusion of money in bridewealth is an innovation which, once made in a homogeneous community, is bound to become standard [436] practise. In Sivepe the first such payment was amassed in 1950 and the median payment has been $2[illegible] since, without much upward trend, while in Inonda the leading family raised the rate well above this.

On the other hand, much change was the result of individual decisions which were gradually followed by enough individuals to make them into a change of general norm. Thus, girls' puberty seclusion used to last from three to six months; today, it often lasts no longer than three weeks while in Inonda, I was told, it is still shorter. In Sivepe, girls are usually still at school when the first menses begin. The Australian school teacher was most disturbed about the mysterious disappearance of his senior girls at this time and their dubious excuses when they returned to school, which however they did not always do. Until I told him, he did not fully realise that puberty seclusion was still practised in the villages; nobody had told him as they feared he might try to stamp out this custom. Some individuals keep their daughters secluded for months, even today.

797 At the time of the eruption no baptisms had yet occurred at Inonda, and only one, as far as I can find out, in Sivepe--and this 798 man settled at Agenahambe later after a failed marriage. For the Inonda people, the nearest school was at Seva, and one boy (now the

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27: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

taro ancestress is usually described as discovering the taro in a lake or other 'round water'. The demigod Totima comes closest to providing a general model of the primeval world of the swidden agriculturist and pig-raiser. Like Prometheus he is a sacrificial figure.[16]

Totoima was at the origin of the feasting institution (though there are other myths of the origin of feasting). It is here that questions of moral values mostly arise as feasting (*ergo* peace making) is the moral act *par excellence*. A direct connection is laid between the virtue of settling conflict and of feasting on the one hand and the fertility and yield of the garden on the other, as enemies are thought to ensorcell the gardens. Another important factor was the 'care' (*simbari*) (a general term covering magical as well as technical aspects) taken of the garden. The eldest male of the extended family, as father of the land, had a special duty as regards *simbari*. Garden magic was, however, made by all married males; they also made gifts to ancestors, who were thought to live in gardens and be reborn from there.

The model of the virtuous man was he who shared out his produce and made feasts (*hande embo*). Such a man would grow a surplus of food in a feasting garden. His power (*ivo*) would be manifest in the abundance of his pigs and taro. The model of the 'active man' would be the organizer of feasts in which the whole village participated (*kiti jigari embo*). Subordinate to him, but still high in reputation, would be experts at sorcery, healing, feather decoration and various forms of hunting, as well as those excelling in debate, rhetoric and diplomacy (*keari embo*).[17]

Identification occurred not only with crops, gods and ancestors, but also with trees harbouring local spirits, plant emblems harbouring lineage ancestors, animal guardians and plant doubles which were kept in the garden (usually surrounded by medicinal herbs) and contained the owner's life spirit, or perhaps name-spirit for the man bore the plant's name. A more complex aspect of identification with pigs and feast gardens is that such produce is destined to be given away, i.e. the owner expects to lose control over it; yet the donor remains identified with it and it calls for a return.[18] The same is true for the range of manufactures (clothes, pots, ornaments) that change hands at feasts.

The pattern described here is characteristic of what Sahlins (1974) called the domestic mode of production. Such a system produces, in his opinion, nothing but use values, even if they are 'exchanged' at feasts, for such 'exchange' is symbolically equivalent to a temporary extension of commensality. Slightly more complex

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is the contemporary case where money replaces traditional valuables. Is this money a 'use value'? Anthropologists have often analyzed it as such and not without some justification; the Orokaiva for instance present brideprice banknotes tied one by one to a tall sapling carried aloft by the donor and thus transported to the wifegiver. After presentation it is often stored in wait for other similar occasions. The fact is, however, that eventually this treasure is converted into exchange values. Furthermore, it owes its status as a valuable to its potential exchange value. It is therefore more easily accounted for in the preset four-system method of analysis as will appear later.

The same remark may be made in respect of labour assistance between households which is normally given without payments except for a meal at the end of the day. If, however, the service is given in connection with work for which the person assisted will eventually get paid, then the service falls within a different category and must be paid for. The same rule applies to the granting of land useholds for which no rent is ever demanded if the land produces (only) use values, but the situation changes when it produces exchange values. Use value is therefore a concept determining Orokaiva behaviour.

Finally, it is as true of the Orokaiva as of the ancient Greeks that conflict and war (*isoro*) did not have a necessarily negative connotation connotation. They might be bad or good according to circumstances. War, sorcery and other forms of negative reciprocity are part of this mode of production; they cannot be equated to 'alienation'. There is increasing evidence that Levi-Strauss (1943) was correct in viewing war in these societies as a modality of interdependence.

To sum up, the Orokaiva had a basic classification of *pure* as between subsistence and feasting. An inspection of the crop by the feast-giver was needed to let crops pass from the subsistence to the feasting category. (It was not done if the harvest was insufficient.) The term *pure ari*, whatever its customary translation into English, was never used to denote any kind of effectiveness in ensuring a food supply. In case of garden failure, people did not ascribe it to neglectful *pure ari* but rather to neglectful *simbari*. It is the demigods of the various crops and the ancestors who do the actual producing in the garden, and all that is expected of man is to clear, to plant and to protect against magical and technical dangers. Watchfulness is the key; toil is a consequence. A flawless garden testifies to watchfulness in the first instance; to physical prowess also, but only in the second instance. In this respect i.e. the technical as well as the magical watchfulness, *pure ari* is intermediate between the Greek concepts of ΕΡΓΟΝ and ΤΕΧΝΗ.

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Alienation in the Creation of Exchange Value

In the Orokaiva village, exchange value may enter in four ways: through cash crops, outside gifts, labour and business. The two latter categories are recent. Whereas wages were an insignificant item in most villages during my 1966–67 study, a recent income survey (Newton 1978) in a typical village showed an overall income of about K675 per household, made up of coffee returns 35%, wages 37%, migrant gifts 12%.

We have no special studies of work concepts in this sector, but some general indications. It may seem surprising that Jesus Christ was nominated as the originating deity of monetary compensation for work, but New Guineans widely regard him as originator of European wealth and therefore also, not illogically, of the concept of money and exchange value. The idea of converting labour into money, in itself, greatly interests New Guineans. Thus Daniel de Coppet shows that in the Are'are social system there is but one traditional method of converting food and services into shell money, viz by acting as an undertaker. For this reason the office of undertaker was a highly valued one. Thus Councillor Colin might well genuinely revere a deity or culture hero who instituted the full convertibility of labour into money.

The term *pure ari* is appropriate to describe the white man's labour if for no other reason than that a 'job' just like the *pure* is a place where one spends the day. The new dispensation has, sure enough, its own conflict (*isoro*) and mode of conflict resolution. Councillor Colin brings this out by his example of the policeman who puts village men into handcuffs and takes them off to court. In such a case it was the task of the sorcerer to ensure that the men would escape conviction and be set free again.[20] Virtue, in such a system, is largely a matter of keeping out of trouble, but also it is a matter of not squandering the money but reserving some – ideally half – of it to serve the needs of kinsmen and fellow villagers: contributions to ceremonial payments, feasts, travel expenses etc. Briefly, wages tend to be converted into political power.

No great value was usually attached to conversion to western commodities, except where these became valued prestations. Thus, when transistor radios became valued prestations, they began to appear in large quantities in the villages and were mostly paid for by absentee workers.

The subsistence/feasting duality continues in this system in that some money is needed for the former but a labourer would have little status in his home village if he did not set aside something for

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435 the latter. Also, migrants normally leave behind a family member
436 with the task of looking after the land (*simbari*) in a technical,
167 magical and juridical sense. Often he also leaves behind a wife for whom he is saving brideprice but who meanwhile must be looked after by his relatives. Money sent home therefore covers not only feasting contributions but also the function of *simbari*. This is not because village people would not perform such services free of charge but because, when a man earns money, those who help him earn that money are entitled to their share.

169 If we look only at the relations of production migrants have in their jobs, they seem totally 'alienated' (cf. Parkin, this volume).
461 Not only have they no control whatever over the product of their labour but this product lies entirely outside their conceptual
[571] universe. Yet these migrants avoid proletarianization in the full sense because they continue to have a stake in the village environment, which has its own economic, political and ideological base.

435 Our remarks above apply similarly to the village cash-crop sector. With the exception of coconuts, the use value Orokaiva see in European cash-crops is either very limited or non-existent. Coffee and cocoa are classified as non-foods, rubber latex as an unusable substance. Even the coconut, though an important food when fresh, represents no use value to Orokaiva when dried into copra.

This lack of perceived utility has not stopped cultivation of these crops on village land nor their processing by village-purchased
[245] machinery. Everyone irrespective of age is growing coffee. Those who are pressed for time tend to give priority to coffee and to partially replace their plantings of taro with 'German taro' – less valued but less laborious.[21]

245 Growing coffee is not considered pleasurable like growing taro.
824 When suggesting to an informant that coffee trees have a sweet smell,
461 I was firmly told: "*We* think the smell is dreadful". Such feelings go to show that the division between the spheres of use value and exchange value is not purely analytical but corresponds to a conceptual boundary between two models of life and work, and that Orokaiva try to keep this boundary clear. Coffee is grown because it takes far less time than it would to grow subsistence crops for the market, but the grower feels alienated from it while he feels
[438] identified with the subsistence crops. A small quantity of subsistence crops – surplus to requirements – is in fact sold in local markets for consumption by local people, but growers take the same care with them and regard them in the same way as the food they eat.

461 It is paradoxical that the work represented as introduced by Jesus
[177]

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Christ does not, like traditional work, have a palpable virtue such that the good man will succeed at it while the bad man will fail. Anyone at all can succeed at New Guinea wage labour – *wok mani tasol* as it is called in Neo-Melanesian.[22] Yet this money, when it enters the village gift exchange circuit, will establish claims to status on an equal footing with wealth available only to cultivators with real traditional power (*ivo*).

It is this anomaly that appears to have been coped with by the New Guinea gambling system. The game called *laki* (lucky) is supposedly a game of pure chance but if chance is with you it shows that a powerful ancestor is supporting you. Your luck at the game shows your spiritual resources just as luck at gardening shows this. It is the people with weaker ancestors who lose. Medicines are also used to improve luck, but they are secondary. Evidence for supranatural intervention is that the results of the game, instead of being random as one would expect from the rules, always favour the same individuals. Whether these individuals play honestly I cannot tell, as the game goes on day and night and only a very weak lantern is used at night, my tilley lamp being considered unsuitable.

Laki is played by Orokaiva especially when the coffee proceeds have just been distributed and generally whenever a large number of community members receive money from non-traditional sources simultaneously. Play may continue for several days without interruption, until all the money is cleaned up by a single winner. This redistribution restores the traditional status pattern disturbed by the culture hero Jesus Christ.

Playing cards are outlawed in Papua New Guinea; nobody is allowed legally to possess them or to import them. Though this legislation was a response to popular pressure, it was in the churches that the pressure was in fact generated. It is thus hoped that New Guineans will eventually allocate status on the basis of the mere possession of money. The total inefficacy of this government legislation shows that New Guineans have great difficulty in accepting this secularized concept of work and status. Magico-religious tests have the function of hallowing money. They also assert the supremacy of traditional work concepts over modern ones.

Alienation in the Creation of Use Values

It is especially the French Marxist africanists such as Terray, Meillassoux, Auge,[23] who have alerted us to the prevalence of exploitation in tribal or lineage-societies where anthropologists

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Cargo deities are renewed for each movement; in all cases their return to earth would not only bring the wealth but also a new moral order. They would banish strife, indeed brotherhood between tribes is a condition of their return. This idea existed in the Northern Province of Papua New Guinea as early as the Taro movement of 1914 (Williams 1928). The work to be done is ritual work for which the design (*ove*) is laid down by the prophet of the cult. The form of *simbari* required here has to do with certain ritual places where the miraculous return might take place – among the Orokaiva, often graveyards. As for the cargo itself, the correct term is *hande*, i.e. generous sharing out of the treasure that has previously remained hidden from the New Guineans.

All these concepts will seem marginal until one sees their implications for everyday events. To this end, let us consider the position of money as *hande*. Most anthropologists have treated ceremonial money prestations as simply equivalent to traditional valuables. But is it really? First of all, it is common knowledge that traditional valuables are no longer acceptable as a substitute for money. This has sometimes been interpreted as a purely secular liking for money, which to a westerner seems so plausible that he does not see the need for explanation. If the money is presented as a money tree, this again can be explained away as substitution within a traditional idiom.

When I discussed savings societies, I expected to be given an explanation in terms of practical spending projects or other economic considerations but was given a political argument instead. It was to equal the power of the Europeans, so I was told. Again, a friend was presented with a dollar to be taken back with him to New Zealand. He should put it in the bank there, so he was told, and then it would multiply a thousandfold. On an apparently quite different topic, wages, I was told that the wealth created by them exceeded by far what they were given as pay.

It is for this reason that Orokaiva are exceedingly interested in 'business', both cooperative and individual. I have personally observed a copra cooperative and several trade store and truck projects, both cooperative and individual. Newton (1978), in a village close to the ones I know, describes in much detail six trade stores, four truck ventures and a cattle project, which represents a great deal of activity for one small village over a six-months period. Several of these projects were cooperative. All of them were failures. The fact that the ventures all fail does not stop people from repeating the experience year after year.

Let us now consider in detail one of the events described by